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ABSTRACT

Although there has been much interest in the United States about Japanese education, few studies have examined the Japanese school system from the teachers' perspective. This study investigated 143 Japanese and 386 U.S. high school teachers' attitudes concerning their work conditions, roles and responsibilities, and work experiences. An attitudinal survey was used to record views on their professional situations from 143 Japanese and 386 U.S. teachers. Teachers in the United States scored higher on every item concerning job satisfaction than did the teachers in Japan. The cause of the Japanese teachers' dissatisfaction appeared to be rooted in their expectations of the job before becoming a teacher. While U.S. teachers reported more job centrality than did Japanese teachers, job centrality took on much more negative attributes in the United States than in Japan. In the area of job stress, the only item significant for the Japanese teachers was concern over the ability of teachers to get control of the curriculum and materials being used in their classrooms, while U.S. teachers were concerned with the concrete problems of their jobs, class size and after-school work, and the general morale of the staff. Differences in concerns between teachers in the two countries appeared to result from the teachers' need to give their students the best possible preparation for becoming a productive person in the society and, therefore, reflected what society felt those prerequisites for entrance should be. (Author/NB)

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A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON OF FACTORS AFFECTING THE JOB SATISFACTION OF U.S. AND
JAPANESE HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS

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ABSTRACT

This study investigates Japanese and United States high school teachers' attitudes concerning their work conditions, roles and responsibilities, and work experiences. An attitudinal survey was used to record 143 Japanese and 386 United States teachers views on their professional situation. The study showed that while teachers in both countries are very dedicated to their profession, their concerns are different. However, the differences result from the teacher's need to give their students the best possible preparation for becoming a productive person in the society and, therefore, reflect what society feels those prerequisites for entrance should be.

A CROSS-CULTURAL COMPARISON OF FACTORS AFFECTING THE JOB SATISFACTION OF U.S. AND JAPANESE HIGH SCHOOL TEACHERS

I. INTRODUCTION

There has been much interest generated in the U.S. concerning Japanese education. Numerous magazine and journal article, not to mention books about the Japanese classroom situation and behavior and attitudes of the students and parents have been written. However, few such studies examine the Japanese school system through the teachers' perspective. The perceptions of teachers within a system may provide insight into how the system works. This, in turn, will assist outsiders in understanding why the Japanese system has been so successful.

It is the purpose of this research to explore teachers' attitudes towards the teaching profession. The concept of job satisfaction will help ascertain how satisfied and enthusiastic teachers are, as well as the factors important for professional satisfaction. This knowledge may assist policy makers and educators in the United States understand the differences and similarities that exist between teachers of these two cultures.

This paper begins with a review of the literature involving U.S. and Japanese teachers and job satisfaction. The methodology and the results of the study will then be described. The paper will conclude with a discussion of the importance and implications of the findings for U.S. and Japanese education.

II. REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Although no cross-cultural studies have been done on job satisfaction concerning Japanese and U.S. high school teachers, there is a large amount of material concerning teachers in each country separately. This material, while not designed for cross-cultural comparisons, allows for a basic understanding of the attitudes which prevail in the two countries.

Autonomy

Autonomy in the school is a major area of concern for both Japanese and U.S. teachers. Autonomy has been linked to higher levels of job satisfaction (Coughlan, 1971; Haughey and Murphy, 1983) and autonomy in the classroom is important to both the U.S. and Japanese teachers (Morimoto, 1981). For Japanese teachers, control over the national curriculum and materials used in their individual classrooms was very important (Kawakami, 1977).

Role Multiplicity and Stress

The role of the teacher, as it takes on multiple dimensions, such as teacher, clerk, cafeteria manager, parent, becomes confusing for some teachers. They sense that their primary responsibility of educating the student is being diluted. The more diverse their roles tend to be, the more difficult it seems for teachers to keep focus of the reason why they are in the school; that is to teach.

Such types of role ambiguity and conflict causes stress and exhaustion among U.S. teachers (Bacharach, Bauer, and Shedd, 1986; ; Litt and Turk, 1985; Frankfurt-Michigan-Sheffield Study Program at the University of Michigan [FMS], 1986; Pierson, 1984). This multiplication of roles forces teachers to expend energy in different directions, sometimes to the detriment of their original purpose. Therefore, multiplicity of roles has caused anxiety and has often led to teacher burnout and early retirement.

Stress is not unusual in Japan. In fact, there is good indication that stress is high among Japanese teachers (Ohshima, 1986). However, stress is related more to political affiliation and class consciousness (Nagoshi, 1976). The association with socio-economic class defines the teachers' perceptions of their classrooms, schools, and societies. Differences in class consciousness is believed to affect teachers' concepts of egalitarianism in the school and with their students (Cummings, 1980). This can cause conflict within the school between faculty members.

It is interesting that multiplicity of roles for Japanese teachers does not seem to be a source of stress. Japanese teachers are responsible for many aspects of the student's total education, such as

guidance and career counseling (Schiller and Walberg, 1982) and moreover, seems to enhance teachers status in Japan. Japanese teachers indicated that diversification of teachers' roles in and out of school was important and believed that the specialization of U.S. teachers detracted from U.S. teachers' status (Bereday and Masui, 1973).

Status

Status of the profession in society has been a major concern for the Japanese and U.S. teachers (FMS, 1986; Ohshima, 1986). In Japan it appears that women receive less respect from parents than men teachers (Mochizuki, 1984). In the U.S., while teachers are not very satisfied with their reception in society, the degree that status plays in job satisfaction for teachers seems to be quite low (Carey, 1980).

Student /Parent /Community and Teacher Relations

Teacher-student relations appear to be excellent in Japan. In a study by Coladarci (1959), teachers were identified as the adult students most admired. However, a cross-cultural study conducted with elementary school children showed that Japanese students "like" and "have respect" for their teachers less than American teachers, but are more obedient (Sorifu Aoshonen Taisakubuen, 1980).

Japanese teachers also seem to have a good relationship with parents. This is in part due to the teacher's assumed responsibility for the character building of the student (Sumiya, 1967) and, therefore, parents tend to show respect to and work closely with the teacher concerning discipline and instruction (Vogel, 1965; Morimoto, 1982). However, parents tend to be more critical of women teachers than men teachers (Mouer, 1976).

The attitudes of the community affect how teachers feel about their profession. Negative attitudes of parents concerning education have been shown to be a strong source of dissatisfaction (Holdaway, 1978; National Education Association, 1980). Japanese teachers, on the other hand, seem to receive more respect from the community than do U.S. teachers (White, 1987).

Teacher-Principal Relations

Principals fulfill very different roles in the two educational systems. In Japan, principals are

assigned to their main positions by the provincial or municipal board of education. Because of this, the principal is not seen by teachers as an integrated part of the daily operation in the school (Kawakami, 1977). Japanese teachers show a strong tendency to want to be autonomous from their superiors and educational directives (Ito, 1971; Kawakami, 1977). Administrators who have not supported teacher innovations or who have discouraged such initiatives have caused teachers to quit the teaching profession (Yoshioka, 1983).

U.S. teacher perception of the principal was a large factor contributing to the school climate (Litt and Turk, 1985). One study showed a high correlation between job mobility and dissatisfaction with the principal (Bloland and Shelly, 1980), yet, in another study, only job satisfaction was linked with supervisory behavior (Bacharach, Bauer, and Shedd, 1986). Lack of communication with the administrator in charge of the building where teachers worked was shown to produce strong dissatisfaction (Bacharach, Bauer and Shedd, 1986; Haughey and Murphy, 1983).

Administrative Participation

The greatest area of concern for U.S. teachers tends to be participation in administrative decisions. Teachers believe they should have more input into the decision making process which, in turn, would increase their levels of job satisfaction (Bacharach, 1986; Belasco and Alutto, 1972; Lord and Horn, 1987). A slightly decentralized, but formal relationship between teachers and administrators has been suggested as a means of improving teachers' attitudes toward their jobs (Miskel, Fevurly, and Stewart, 1979).

Japanese teachers want a much bigger role in deciding administrative policy than they have now (Ito, 1971; Sako, 1984). They have indicated that teachers' meeting should be used for discussion and not just to review policy (Kawakami, 1977). The role and voice of the teachers' union is very clear and strong pertaining to this issue. The union seeks active participation in policy making at both the provincial and school level (White, 1987).

Salary

Insufficient salary has been a strong source of dissatisfaction for teachers in the U.S. It is linked with the intention to leave the profession (Litt and Turk, 1985). Salary appears to be a problem with Japanese teachers as well. Despite reports that Japanese salary rates are much more favorable than those in the U.S. (OERI, 1987; White, 1987), Japanese teachers have indicated that low salary was the biggest source of dissatisfaction in their jobs (Nakauchi and Kawai, 1970; Takahashi, 1971).

Job Satisfaction

Teacher satisfaction in the U.S. was shown to center around the work itself (Holdaway, 1978). U.S. teachers generally identified enjoyment of working with students as a major source of enthusiasm (Dedrick, Hawkes and Smith, 1981; Farber, 1984; FMS, 1986; Haughey and Murphy, 1983; Holdaway, 1978). However, interaction with students was not seen as a motivator for career change (Bloland and Shelly 1980).

Overall, Japanese teachers tend to be more satisfied with their school as a work area than U.S. teachers (Morimoto, 1982). Main sources of dissatisfaction with the school were identified as salary (Nakauchi and Kawai, 1970) and job security (Kawakami, 1977).

U.S. teachers seem to be satisfied with their profession (National Educational Association, 1980; Bacharach, Bauer, and Shedd, 1986). However, only a few teachers (25%) indicated that they would enter teaching again if they had another chance (National Educational Association, 1980; Bacharach, Bauer, and Shedd, 1986).

Summary

As the literature indicates, Japanese teachers appear to be more satisfied with their occupation than U.S. teachers. Japanese teachers derive their satisfaction from their sense of professionalism and contact with students. Areas of dissatisfaction are autonomy in the classroom, class consciousness and salary. U.S. teachers have indicated student-teacher interaction and interaction among colleagues as major sources of satisfaction. Sources of dissatisfaction seem to be conflicts with administration,

administrative tasks, and salary.

There are severe limitations in trying to derive hypotheses from uni-cultural studies. For the purpose of this study, perhaps it is more beneficial to pose questions. What are the similarities and differences between U.S. and Japanese teachers? Are there factors inherent within the profession of teaching that are not culture bound, and if so what are they? Given the similarities and differences, what are the possibilities of borrowing from each others' educational system? The purpose of this paper will be to answer these questions in context of teachers' attitudes towards their occupation.

IV. METHODOLOGY

An attitudinal questionnaire was used in the two countries to record teachers' views on their teaching situation. The questions and format of the questionnaire in English were pre-tested in the United States (Michigan) and England (Sheffield) and, for this study, was translated into Japanese. Instead of using back-translation into English, in order to check on the extent to which the intent of the U.S. questionnaire had been achieved, a different procedure was used. Three Japanese high school teachers were asked individually to explain what each question meant to them as teachers. Their answers were then used to refine the wording of the questionnaire both to fit conditions in Japan and align the meaning with that intended in the U.S. version. The Japanese questionnaire was distributed in October of 1986, the middle of the second trimester and the U.S. questionnaire was mailed to teachers in the middle of December.

The questionnaire used in Japan contained only certain parts of the questionnaire used in the United States. These sections concerned work experience, conditions of work, and roles and responsibilities of teachers. The section concerning classroom practices and much of the detailed demographics were omitted. This revised questionnaire consists of 4 sections: demographics, conditions in the school, roles and responsibilities, and general experience of work. The work conditions section contained 28 questions and the roles and responsibilities section consisted of 16 question.

The work conditions and roles and responsibilities sections consist of statements concerning conditions or situations in the school and two accompanying questions. One question asks how much a condition or situation is present in their job and the other how important it is to their job satisfaction. Each teacher is instructed to answer each question for each statement. The scales for each question are 3- A lot, 2- Somewhat, and 1- A little. In the general experience of work section, there were six questions. Each question has four possible answers which range from 4- A great deal to 1-Very little.

A total of 249 questionnaires were distributed in Tokyo, Hiroshima, Fukuyama, and Oita, Japan. For the cities of Hiroshima, Fukuyama and Oita, the Hiroshima YMCA served as the main distributor using their contacts with Japanese high schools and teachers in the area. In Tokyo, two teachers presently teaching in two different high schools served as distributors.

In the cities of Hiroshima, Fukuyama, and Oita, the YMCA gave copies of the questionnaires to teachers who had contact with the YMCA. These teachers then took the questionnaires into their schools and asked the teachers individually to fill out the questionnaires. When teachers had completed the questionnaire, they placed them in a sealed unmarked envelope and gave them to the teacher responsible for distributing the questionnaire in that school. The teacher assisting in distribution then returned the sealed envelopes to the Hiroshima YMCA. The YMCA mailed all the envelopes from these three sites to the United States.

The questionnaires mailed to the two teachers in Tokyo were given to the individual teachers in the school where they taught. The answered questionnaires were then put into unmarked envelopes, sealed, and then returned to the distributing teacher in that school.

Each of the three distributors gave an account of how many they actually distributed to the schools and how many they received. A total of two weeks went by at each site between the time the questionnaires were distributed and collected. One hundred forty-three questionnaires were returned for a response rate of 59%.

The U.S. sample of 386 high school teachers, grades 9 to 12, were from the state of Michigan. This

is a subsample of 576 teachers selected by a stratified three-stage probability sampling procedure. Teachers were selected according to the size and location of their school with respect to their intermediate school districts and local districts. One thousand two hundred questionnaires were sent out through direct mailing. From these, 613 teachers sent back responses (51%). Of the 613, 22 were unusable because the respondents were no longer teaching or the questionnaire was incompletely filled out and another 15 were returned because of incorrect addresses. Therefore, the total usable sample was 576.

The Japanese and U.S. samples represented in Figures 1 and 2 respectively. The U.S. and Japanese samples were similar in terms of sex and marital status. However, there was a difference in the school setting and the age of the teachers. A majority of the Japanese teachers were from city schools and the U.S. teachers were predominately from suburban schools. The U.S. teachers were notably much older than the Japanese teachers. Only 9% of the U.S. sample were under 30 years of age as opposed to 23% of the Japanese teachers.

FIGURE 1
JAPAN

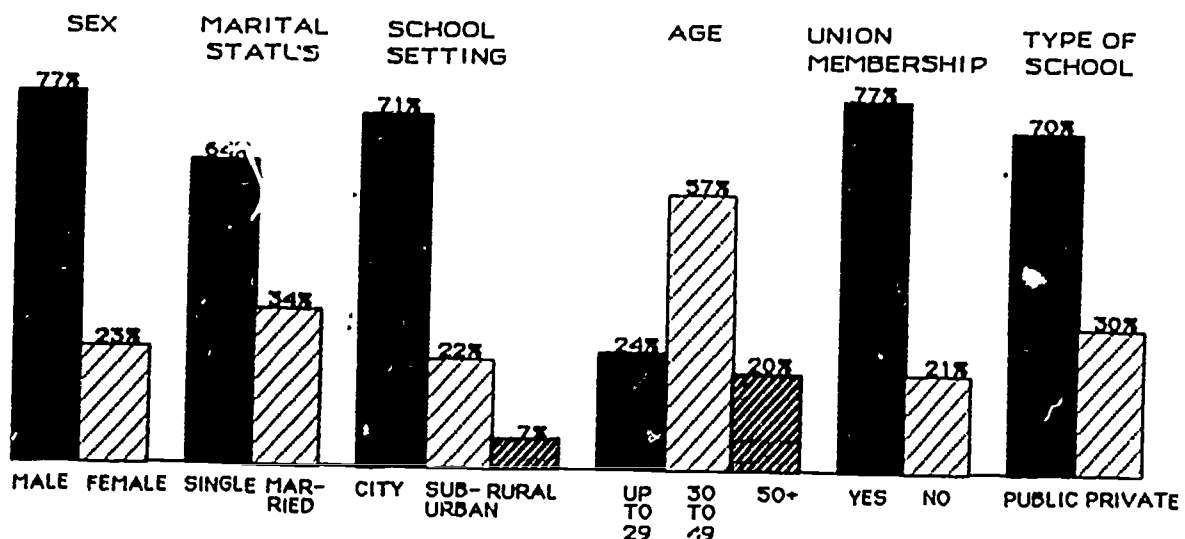
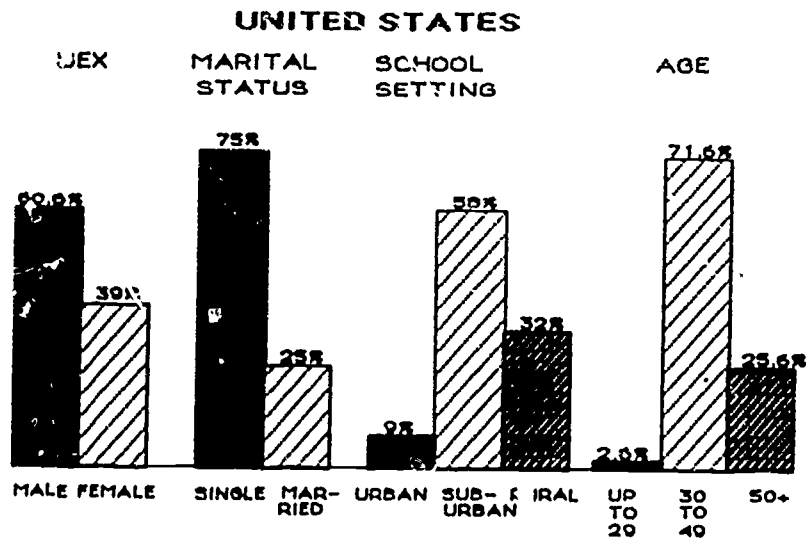


FIGURE 2



V. RESULTS

JOB SATISFACTION

Method

The questionnaire contains three questions pertaining to general job satisfaction. These three questions were:

1. In general, how much do you enjoy teaching as an occupation?
2. In general, how much would you say that teaching measures up to the sort of work you wanted when you entered the profession?
3. Knowing what you know now, if you had to decide all over again whether to enter teaching, how likely is it that you would do so?

The ratings of the above three questions were added together to construct an overall job satisfaction dependent variable. The independent variables for the Japanese sample were the 28 questions on work conditions, 16 questions on roles and responsibilities, sex, age, marital status, setting of school, number of years full time teaching experience, union membership, and whether or not they taught at a public or

private high school. The independent variables for the U.S. sample were the same as the Japanese except union membership and type of school taught at were omitted and membership in local, regional, or national organizations were included. Stepwise regressions were then run.

Analysis of variance were computed for each of the individual questions concerning general job satisfaction and the overall composite job satisfaction variable comparing the means of the U.S. and Japanese teachers. This was done to see if there was a significant difference in the levels of satisfaction of U.S. and Japanese teachers.

Findings

U.S. teachers were much more satisfied with teaching than the Japanese. This was true for all job satisfaction variables (see Table 1). U.S. teachers were significantly more content with their occupation, expectations from the occupation, and willingness to enter teaching again. This was also true of the composite, overall job satisfaction variable (see Table 2). This suggests that U.S. teachers have been more able to attain their professional goals and aspirations than the Japanese.

However, these results should be viewed with caution. The United States sample had higher means on all portions of the questionnaire. The Japanese, overall, chose extreme answers less than the U.S. teachers in the sample. This tendency has also been observed by Zax and Takahashi (1967).

TABLE 1

U. S. AND JAPANESE MEANS ON JOB SATISFACTION	MEAN		STD DEV	
	JAPAN	U. S.	JAPAN	U. S.
In general, how much do you enjoy teaching as an occupation?	2.76	3.69	.7356	.6321
In general, how much would you say that teaching measures up to the sort of work you wanted when you entered the profession?	2.46	3.26	.7012	.7134
Knowing what you know now, if you had to decide all over again whether to enter teaching, how likely is it that you would do so?	2.37	3.11	.9366	.9236
Overall job satisfaction.	7.60	9.96	2.097	1.961

TABLE 2

ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE OF JOB SATISFACTION BY COUNTRY	df	MS	F
In general, how much do you enjoy teaching as an occupation?	1,522	71.21	162.70***
In general, how much would you say that teaching measures up to the sort of work you wanted when you entered the profession?	1,523	70.70	139.94***
Knowing what you know now, if you had to decide all over again whether to enter teaching, how likely is it that you would do so?	1,520	56.98	66.29***
Overall job satisfaction.	1,517	579.56	142.75***

p<.001***

Overall Job Satisfaction

Both groups indicated that professional attributes of the job were sources of satisfaction. U.S. and Japanese teachers indicated that some type of curriculum development was necessary. However, the way in which this could occur and the direction of their application were quite different.

Significant items for the Japanese teachers were sufficient opportunities for professional interactions with colleagues, development of new programs and practices, freedom to decide how to do one's work, sharing department administrative responsibilities, and supportive parents (see Table 3). Teachers in the United States cited curriculum development, feeling encouraged to experiment with new strategies and ideas, respect in the community, good pay and counseling students as significant contributors to their job satisfaction (see Table 3).

TABLE 3

SUMMARY OF REGRESSION ANALYSES FOR THE
INDEPENDENT VARIABLE OVERALL JOB SATISFACTION

JAPAN	B	SE B	β	R Sq	F
I have the freedom to decide how I do my work.	.99	.32	.27	.29	20.22***
New programs and practices are given enough opportunity to develop.	1.01	.33	.26	.36	17.74***
I have sufficient opportunity for professional interaction with other colleagues.	1.68	.31	.47	.22	28.32***
The parents of my students are supportive.	.65	.31	.18	.39	14.91***
Sharing of responsibilities for administration in my subject department.	.65	.31	.19	.41	13.26***
UNITED STATES					
I feel encouraged to experiment with different ideas strategies and ideas.	.99	.17	.35	.12	31.82***
Teachers in this community are regarded with respect.	.95	.19	.27	.19	27.13***
The pay is good.	.49	.17	.19	.25	18.69***
I am involved in counseling individual students.	.35	.15	.12	.28	14.80***
I work with colleagues on curriculum development.	.41	.17	.15	.27	16.52***

$p < .001^{***}$

JOB CENTRALITY

Method

There were two questions in the questionnaire designed to elicit responses about how much a teacher makes their lives work part of their lives. These questions were:

1. To what extent is success at your work important to you, compared with success in other things you do?
2. To what extent do matters connected with your work occupy your thoughts

outside working hours?

Results of these two questions were combined to form the dependent variable for overall job centrality. The independent variables for Japan and the U.S. were the same as the job satisfaction variables. Stepwise regression were done to determine what variables contributed to overall job centrality in both countries as well as how much each variable contributed.

Findings

Overall Job Centrality

The U.S. teachers showed a higher mean for job centrality than did the Japanese teachers (see Tables 4 and 5). This indicates that U.S. teachers think about and center their lives around their jobs more than Japanese teachers. However, a majority of the variables were negatively correlated to U.S. job centrality. This indicates that the dependent variable used for job centrality had a negative connotation for U.S. teachers that was not evident in the Japanese teachers. That is, U.S. teachers were more likely to consider job centrality as a source of dissatisfaction than the Japanese teachers.

TABLE 4

U. S. AND JAPANESE MEANS FOR JOB CENTRALITY	MEAN		STD DEV	
	JAPAN	U. S.	JAPAN	U. S.
To what extent is success at your work important to you, compared with success in other things you do?	3.11	3.50	.7181	.6419
To what extent do matters connected with your work occupy your thoughts outside working hours?	3.43	3.55	.7755	.6109
Overall job centrality	6.55	7.05	1.268	.955

TABLE 5

ANALYSES OF VARIANCE ON JOB CENTRALITY BY COUNTRY	df	MS	F
To what extent is success at your work important to you, compared with success in other things you do?	1,524	15.73	35.77***
To what extent do matters connected with your work occupy your thoughts outside working hours?	1,526	1.42	3.27
Overall job centrality	1,524	26.14	23.82***

p<.10

p<.001***

Significant items for the Japanese teachers were freedom to decide how to do their work and involvement in parental contacts (see Table 6). In the U.S., the significant items that were negatively correlated were the amount of after-school work, amount of clerical and administrative work. The well-being of students was the only item with a positive Beta score.

TABLE 6

SUMMARY OF REGRESSION ANALYSES OF OVERALL JOB CENTRALITY

JAPAN	B	SE B	B	R Sq	F
I have freedom to decide how I do my work.	.91	.20	.37	.21	15.57***
I am involved in initiating parental contacts.	.54	.19	.27	.21	13.06***
UNITED STATES					
The amount of after-school work is reasonable	-.26	.07	-.24	.06	14.43***
The amount of clerical and administrative work I have to do is reasonable for me.	-.19	.06	-.15	.12	7.94***
I work with colleagues on the well-being of students.	.17	.11	.14	.10	6.61***
Marital Status	-.29	.11	-.16	.09	10.57***

P<.001***

JOB STRESS

Method

One item on the questionnaire was related to stress in the work place. This item was:

Overall, how much stress do you experience in your present job?

A step wise regression was done using this question as the dependent variable and the independent variable were the same as used in the job satisfaction and job centrality sections for each country.

Results

U.S. and Japanese teachers reported an equal amount of stress on the job. There was no significant difference between the teachers in the two countries (see Tables 7 and 8.). This was the only item that was not significant between the two countries. The high percentage of union members in the Japanese sample may account for these results since union teachers expressed significantly higher levels of stress than non-union members.

TABLE 7

U. S. AND JAPANESE MEANS FOR STRESS	MEANS		STD DEV	
	JAPAN	U. S.	JAPAN	U. S.
Overall, how much stress do you experience in your present job?	3.26	3.35	.7805	.6915

TABLE 8

ANALYSES OF VARIANCE OF STRESS BY COUNTRY	df	MS	F
Overall, how much stress do you experience in your present job?	1.000	.91	1.63 NS

For the Japanese, only one item contributed to stress and that was the opportunity to develop new programs and practices. For the U.S., staff morale, after-school work and the size of the classrooms were significantly related to teachers' perceptions of stress (see Table 9).

TABLE 9

SUMMARY OF REGRESSION ANALYSES OF STRESS

JAPAN	B	SE B	β	R Sq	F
New programs and practices are given enough opportunity to develop.	-.49	.13	-.32	.10	11.33***
UNITED STATES					
In my school, staff morale is generally good.	-.26	.06	-.28	.08	19.88***
The amount of after-school work is reasonable.	-.18	.05	-.21	.12	16.18***
The sizes of my classes are reasonable.	-.18	.06	-.18	.15	14.08***

p<.001***

III. DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

Job Satisfaction

The results from this study contradict previously held beliefs that Japanese teachers are more content than U.S. teachers. Indeed, it was quite surprising that U.S. teachers scored higher on every item concerning job satisfaction than the Japanese. However, should be viewed with caution. The Japanese, overall, chose extreme answers less than the U.S. teachers in the sample. This tendency has also been observed by Zax and Takahashi (1967).

The cause of the Japanese teachers' dissatisfaction is rooted in their expectations of the job before becoming a teacher. Teachers expect more gratification from teaching than they actually receive. They expect much from their position and, therefore, are more disappointed than U.S. teachers when these expectations are not met.

A situation where Japanese teachers develop programs and methods of presentation, free from the constraints of the administration and local boards of education with the support of the parents would be

an ideal situation. The freedom to decide how to do ones' work, coupled with professional interaction and the development of new programs, would enhance the teachers' subject area knowledge. Armed with this new knowledge, teachers look for the support of the parents to encourage their children to study.

The teachers in the United States look towards job satisfaction with a slant towards student centered learning. Curriculum development and experimentation with new ideas and strategies help develop the process which encourages students. It is here that counseling the students becomes important. By talking to students and encouraging them to develop as individuals, the teacher gains insight into each child's needs and thus can specially adapt the curriculum to these needs.

It is very interesting that both Japanese and United States teachers view professional development and autonomy as sources of job satisfaction. However, United States teachers turn towards their students as a source of guidance for curriculum development and the Japanese to the parents. The Japanese see involvement of the family, especially in high school, as an important tool helping to prepare a student for the university entrance examinations, which become a concern at this level.

In both countries, pay was related to whether or not a teacher would enter the profession again if one had the opportunity to decide all over again. For the Japanese, pay seemed to be a concern in choosing the profession, but not necessarily contributing to the overall satisfaction of teachers.

For the United States sample, pay is correlated with respect in the community. Teachers indicate that a better pay scale would increase their standing in the community. A higher economic status in the community would increase the community's and, therefore, the students' respect for their teachers.

Job Centrality

It was quite surprising to find that U.S. teachers had more job centrality than Japanese teachers, given the literature available. However, as stated before, in the U.S., job centrality took on much more negative attributes than in Japan. One possible explanation could be work habits.

In the United States, teachers, after the final bell has rung, will take work home with them. In Japan, work is rarely taken home. Teachers will stay at school, sometimes until late at night grading

examinations or constructing the daily lesson plans.

Differences in the concerns of Japanese and U.S. teachers are interesting. The Japanese are concerned with the conditions facing their roles within the school, where U.S. teachers are trying to rid themselves of the paper work required by the school's administration is a predominate theme.

Job Stress

Stress is the item in which the differences between the Japanese and United States teachers became very apparent. The only item significant for the Japanese teachers concerned the ability of teachers to get control of the curriculum and materials being used in their classroom. The United States teachers were more concerned with the concrete problems of their job, class size and after-school work, and the general morale of the staff.

VII. CONCLUSION

The differences and similarities between the U.S. and Japanese teachers are quite striking. They are a result of both a keen need to give their students the best possible preparation for becoming a productive person in the society and a reflection of what society feels those prerequisites for entrance should be. Moreover, it indicates that the goals and aspirations of the teachers in the two countries are essentially the same.

This is not to say that the profession in both countries functions similarly. The needs of the two cultural settings do not allow for such an occurrence. Training children capable of critical thinking, as done in the U.S., will not produce a student prepared to take a university entrance examination, as in Japan. Nor can one attempt to compare these two types of students using a single testing instrument. The achievement of one goal does not insure the other.

This important point should be kept in mind when discussing the values or demerits of any educational system. It is too easy to analyze individual aspects of a system, e.g. testing, performance, behavior, without first recognizing the basic philosophy which structures the system. It is only through

an understanding of a system's particular philosophy that one can understand its parts. The Japanese system is a case in point.

The needs and expectations of the Japanese society have been shaped by historic, economic, and legendary occurrences. These events, or their ideological manifestations as in the case of religion or folk lore, have created a situation unique to the country and people of Japan. In response, measures were taken to alleviate or, in some cases, increase the effect caused by the event. It was through the educational system that these changes were manifested.

Now, the United States in looking towards the Japanese system for answers to some of its difficult problems. It is very possible that the Japanese school system can provide some answers and that the United States can and, indeed, must learn from them. The observers and analyzers must realize that the procedures, functions, and designs of the Japanese system serve a purpose to fit a specific situation which has developed within Japan. The philosophy and underlying assumptions being made are solidly based on the cultural history of Japan, factual or devised, it doesn't matter. The reality is that it exists and is believed.

It is in this light that this study has its greatest significance. Through understanding the conditions and concerns of teachers within the system, some of the underlying premises of the two educational systems become apparent. In Japan, this means rigorous studies to do well on the university entrance examinations. In the U.S., it means the development of critical thinking skills designed for each individual. These goals should not be forgotten when considering positive and negative attributes of both systems.

Implications

Given the limitations and methods of the sampling procedure it is difficult to draw generalizations. However, this study does point to some vital differences and, yet, interesting similarities between the two educational systems and the teachers responsible for insuring that the system works. It is apparent that there are differences in the influences of the various roles, responsibilities and conditions that

teachers encounter. Moreover, the Japanese high school teachers' perspectives seem different from those of the Japanese elementary school teachers.

The nurturing of the student and the small group activities observed in the Japanese elementary schools seem to be replaced with a concern for helping the students learn to intensify their study habits at the secondary level. The advanced curricula and rapid, unified pace of the presentation demand such skills and perseverance. However, this is a view from only one segment of the educational system and cannot be construed to be complete or all encompassing.

The Japanese system does hold some of the answers to the dilemma of falling mathematic and scientific aptitude scores of students in the United States. However, before constructing a curriculum based on the Japanese model, a thorough study must be done of the role a particular practice fulfills and the extent to which this practice can be removed and implanted into a system which operates on a different set of educational premises.

One such common ground exists already. That is the teaching profession. What is apparent from this study is that teachers feel a deep seated responsibility towards their students. They are very dedicated to the ideal of preparing their students to enter into the society in which they live. The teachers from both countries expressed dissatisfaction in being impeded by various aspects of their educational system from attaining those goals.

Teachers in both countries are faced with very difficult situations. Although these situations differ in each country, teachers still can learn from each other. There is much to be taught and admired in both systems. Still, caution must be urged before adopting any procedure or policy and care must be used during implementation.

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